



Women Paved the Way: Using Lessons From Women's Integration in the Military to Support the Military's 2SLGBTQI+ Diversification

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Exercise Solo Flight

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WOMEN PAVED THE WAY: USING LESSONS FROM WOMEN'S INTEGRATION IN THE MILITARY TO SUPPORT THE MILITARY'S 2SLGBTQI+ DIVERSIFICATION

Introduction and Framework

The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) is facing renewed diversity challenges. Since the enactment of the of the Human Right Act in 1977¹ the CAF has sought to increase diversity of its members by increasing the number of women in the organization. However, currently there are parliamentary² and societal expectations for the CAF to both expand its diversity outlook beyond the Employment Equity Act designated groups³ to include 2SLGBTQI+⁴ individuals, and improve inclusiveness and acceptance of existing designated groups within the military's culture.⁵ To achieve the desired results, the organization should learn from decades of diversification initiatives to increase the number of women in the military and change its approach from utilizing identity-blind diversity ideologies to utilizing identity-conscious diversity ideologies. Specifically, the multiculturalism ideology should be sought instead of blind, meritocracy and assimilation ideologies.

To determine how an organization should adapt its culture, an understanding of the functions which form an organization must first be established. Following this, the means to adjust the organization and its culture can be examined. The three pillar institutional analysis framework developed by Scott outlines the functions that form the structure of the institutions,⁶ and it is used to examine how approaches to organizational and culture change can be enacted throughout the organization. Figure 1 outlines these three pillars and how they relate to change within an institution. In addition to a framework for

¹Canadian Human Rights Act.

²Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, 12, 20–24, 27; Canada, *Our North, Strong and Free*, 17, 19, 36.

³Employment Equity Act. Due to operational effectiveness reasoning, persons with disabilities have not been a diversity objective of the CAF. Additionally, of women, members of visible minorities and Indigenous people (Aboriginal per the Employment Equity Act), women have received the greatest focus for increasing the CAF's diversity.

⁴Two-Spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and plus is inclusive of people who identify as part of sexual and gender diverse communities but use additional terminologies. This terminology is drawn from the Federal 2SLGBTQI+ Action Plan 2022, and it is used throughout this paper to refer to all sexual and gender diverse individuals. This terminology should not be group - limiting in its applications.

⁵Canada, 'CDS/DM Initiating Directive for Professional Conduct and Culture'.

⁶Scott, *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities*, 59–74.

Pillar	Regulative	Normative	Cultural-Cognitive
Mechanism of Action	Coercive	Normative	Mimetic
Basis of Legitimacy	Legally sanctioned	Morally Governed	Comprehensible Recognizable Cultural support
Change Initiator	New rule	Change behaviour	New idea/belief
Change Indicator	Compliance	Conformity	Creativity
Affect	Fear guilt/innocence	Shame/Honour	Certainty/ Confusion

Figure 1: Institutional Structure and Change Approaches

Source: produced by author, adapted from Scott, 60, and Brown and Okros, 'Shifting the Spotlight: Institutional and Structural Contributions to Unprofessional Conduct in the Military'.

organizational analysis, to examine diversification within the CAF, a framework for understanding diversity in organizations is also required. Leslie *et al.* have grouped diversity ideologies which organizations use into identity-blind and identity-conscious diversity ideologies.⁷ Additionally, they have further identified three separate identity-blind ideologies: colourblindness or blind, meritocracy and assimilation based diversity ideologies.⁸ In summary, the colourblindness or blind ideology emphasizes minimizing salient difference by ignoring them, through a cognitive strategy or mental process, while meritocracy ideology minimizes these same differences through equability, a behavioural strategy.⁹ However, as Leslie *et al.* explain, neither of these ideologies acknowledge or take into consideration historical disadvantages or barriers faced by individuals in a group or organization. Similar to the first two diversity-blind ideologies, assimilation also minimizes salient differences, however, it goes further “. . . by emphasizing that nondominant groups should adopt the practices of the dominant group.”¹⁰ Specifically, this is accomplished by changing the nondominant group's behaviour to that of the preferable dominant group's behaviours. Conversely, Leslie *et al.* describe the identity-conscious ideology as multiculturalism.¹¹ Unlike the identity-blind ideologies, multiculturalism does not minimize differences but “emphasizes acknowledging and valuing differences”¹² Furthermore, it takes into consideration historical disadvantages

⁷Leslie et al., ‘On Melting Pots and Salad Bowls: A Meta-Analysis of the Effects of Identity-Blind and Identity-Conscious Diversity Ideologies’, 454.

⁸Leslie et al., 455.

⁹Leslie et al., 456–57.

¹⁰Leslie et al., 457.

¹¹Leslie et al., 458.

¹²Leslie et al., 458.

and barriers, and does not assume the dominant group's behaviours are preferable. Finally, the meta-analysis by Leslie *et al.* found that groups with a preponderance of multicultural ideologies have “reduced prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping and increased diversity policy support,”¹³ all of which they identify as indicators of improved “overall quality of intergroup relations.”¹⁴

Background within the CAF

Historically, the CAF has relied on the regulative pillar of Scott's framework for diversity changes,¹⁵ favouring the creation and enforcement of new rules to impose change. For significant diversity changes, especially those related to social expectations, the changes were often first imposed by outside authorities and not by internal drivers. The external drivers reinforced the change through the regulative pillar because the changes were to be enacted through compliance by both the organization and by its individual members. Two CAF examples are the Canadian Human Right Tribunal (CHRT) in 1989 and the Federal Courts in 1992. In 1989, the CHRT ordered the Combat Related Employment of Women (CREW) trials, which had “the goal of evaluating the operational effectiveness of mixed gender units that engaged in direct combat,”¹⁶ would cease and that the trials were to be considered the initial integration of women in all occupations.¹⁷ In 1992, in *Douglas v Canada* the Federal Court declared that the CAF policies prohibiting “homosexuals” from service were contrary to the Canadian Charter of Human Rights.¹⁸ Neither of these externally directed changes were welcomed policy changes and were reluctantly implemented by the CAF leadership at the time.¹⁹ However, as an organization, the Department of National Defence (DND) and the CAF have progressed from direct governmental direction to increase diversity, to recognizing the benefits of diversity and initiating internal actions. In 2021, the Chief of the Defence Staff and Deputy Minister's Initiating Directive for Professional Conduct and Culture recognized the problem and stated:

Our [DND's and CAF's] current culture does not universally reflect a shared understanding and compliance with our values and ethos, including a recognition that diversity, inclusion, and equity must be fostered if we are to maximize the Defence Team's operational effectiveness.²⁰

This was followed up with an update to the CAF's ethos which linked diversity to DND and the CAF's code of values and ethics:

Diversity, equity and inclusion are so critical to CAF effectiveness that

¹³Leslie *et al.*, 453.

¹⁴Leslie *et al.*, 463.

¹⁵Brown and Okros, ‘Shifting the Spotlight: Institutional and Structural Contributions to Unprofessional Conduct in the Military’, 17.

¹⁶Warszynski *et al.*, ‘Women Serving in the Canadian Armed Forces: Strengthening Military Capabilities and Operational Effectiveness’, 25.

¹⁷Davis, ‘Sex, Gender and Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces’, 438.

¹⁸*Douglas v. Canada (T.D.)*, 1 FC at 272.

¹⁹Davis, ‘Sex, Gender and Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces’, 439.

²⁰Canada, ‘CDS/DM Initiating Directive for Professional Conduct and Culture’.

they are set as professional virtues and a key part of our military ethos. The DND and CF Code of Values and Ethics emphasizes a supporting hierarchy of ethical principles that underpin our ethos: first, respect the dignity of all persons, then serve Canada before self, and finally obey and support lawful authority. We take these principles into the heart of our ethos.²¹

This also demonstrated a shift at the highest levels of leadership, from reliance on the regulative pillar for change, to change efforts using the normative pillar. Unfortunately, these initiatives were following Operation *Honour*, which attempted to force similar change through individual punitive actions or the threat of punitive actions for sexual misconduct.²² As a result, at lower levels of the organization, efforts to move away from the regulative pillar for embodiment of this change were hindered by the reliance on coercion, legal sanctions and compliance implemented with Operation *Honour*. This is in direct contrast to desired morally governed actions and conformity sought through the use of the normative pillar.²³ Consequentially, this action did not result in significant changes to the gender composition of the CAF which remain well below the consistent target of 25.1%²⁴, and with only a minimal increase from 14.8% in 2011²⁵ to 16.1% in 2021.²⁶

Within the CAF, efforts to increase 2SLGBTQI+ representation and diversity have a much shorter history than gender diversification. Although the four Defence Advisory Groups (DAGs) based on the designated groups specified in the Employment Equity Act²⁷ were established in 1994, the Defence Team Pride Advisory Organization was not established until 2020.²⁸ Additionally, since the Employment Equity Act does not include the 2SLGBTQI+ community as a designated group, there are no representational targets for this group nor statistical data.²⁹ Further limiting the DAGs, as of 2021, the mapping of the employment equity and diversity program stakeholders within the CAF identifies the DAGs as employment equity actors and separate from diversity and inclusion program.³⁰ Consequentially, the DAGs were considered to be part of the framework for legislative compliance, instead of a key stakeholder in diversification and acceptance efforts within DND and the CAF. Moreover, the exclusion and expulsion of the 2SLGBTQI+ community within the CAF was explicit during the LGBT Purge from the 1950s to the mid-1990s.³¹ This demonstrated not a neutral approach or effort to 2SLGBTQI+ diversity,

²¹Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Ethos*, 11.

²²Canada, 'CDS Op Order – Op HONOUR'.

²³Brown and Okros, 'Shifting the Spotlight: Institutional and Structural Contributions to Unprofessional Conduct in the Military', 2–3.

²⁴Canada, 'Canadian Forces Employment Equity Report 2010-2011', 4; Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces, Employment Equity Plan 2021 - 2026*, 9.

²⁵Canada, 'Canadian Forces Employment Equity Report 2010-2011', 4.

²⁶Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces, Employment Equity Plan 2021 - 2026*, 9.

²⁷Employment Equity Act.

²⁸Canada, 'Defence Advisory Groups'.

²⁹The collection of 2SLGBTQI+ individual's data would require appropriate legal authority and without the legal authority may be considered a breach of the Privacy Act. The addition of 2SLGBTQI+ as a designated group in the Employment Equity Act, or similar, would be required to collect this data.

³⁰Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces, Employment Equity Plan 2021 - 2026*, 17.

³¹Canada, 'Federal 2SLGBTQI+ Action Plan 2022', 14.

but systematic actions and discrimination to remove 2SLGBTQI+ members from the CAF. By comparison, the period of the LGBT Purge overlaps the 1989 CREW trials which, as identified, were the initial implementation of women within all occupations. Consequentially, the history of 2SLGBTQI+ inclusion in the CAF is significantly shorter than that of gender inclusion and it is also hindered by reduced availability of data.

CAF Identity-Blind Approaches

Historically the CAF has approached gender diversity by utilizing all three diversity-blind ideologies. In her examination of gender and culture in the CAF, Davis identifies how CAF leaders are trained to focus on common goals and experience while minimizing differences in team members.³² However, as she explains, this will “. . . have the effect of rendering gender invisible and thus insignificant in various organizational processes”³³ and results in the elimination of gender considerations and contributions to organizational development and improvements. In addition to ignoring and minimizing the difference in team members, the colourblind or blind ideology also does not recognize historical disadvantages. Consequentially, as Leslie *et al.* describe, “individuals [or organizations] may endorse colorblindness [sic] as a way to perpetuate group-based inequity.”³⁴ Using the Gender-based Analysis Plus³⁵ approach, the CAF has progressed from explicit gender bias in many policies and processes, however, this has resulted in biases based on gender being obscured. Through her career and observing the proportion of women in senior Chief Warrant Officer appointments, Belanger concludes: “. . . I believe this is not a pipeline issue but rather a bias issue, specifically a second-generation bias, which for the most part is hidden from view.”³⁶ Additionally, Humphreys has also examined and identified that women in the CAF continue to be disadvantaged by numerous second-generation gender biases.³⁷

Approaches based on the colourblind gender-neutral or gender-blind ideology are structured to not threaten hegemonic masculinity and have specific masculine and feminine expectations.³⁸ With their sexual and/or gender identities on their own, 2SLGBTQI+ individuals do not conform with these expectations. Therefore, the presence of 2SLGBTQI+ members is an inherent challenge to historical masculine and feminine expectation, and the same colourblind bias that affected women in the military, will adversely affect 2SLGBTQI+ CAF members. Although these expected behaviours rely on conformity from the normative pillar, it is conformity to the existing organizational structures and does not demonstrate the change in behaviour or new ideas of change through the normative or cultural-cognitive pillars. Consequentially, the colourblind or blind ideology restricts both gender and 2SLGBTQI+ diversity within organizations,

³²Davis, ‘Sex, Gender and Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces’, 446.

³³Davis, 446.

³⁴Leslie et al., ‘On Melting Pots and Salad Bowls: A Meta-Analysis of the Effects of Identity-Blind and Identity-Conscious Diversity Ideologies’, 456.

³⁵Canada, ‘Government of Canada’s Approach on Gender-Based Analysis Plus’.

³⁶Belanger, *Pride Amid Prejudice*, 265, Kobo.

³⁷Humphreys, ‘Fighting the Undercurrent: Second-Generation Gender Bias in the Canadian Armed Forces’.

³⁸Humphreys, 6.

including the CAF. As Davis concludes:

. . . a *gender-neutral perspective* is not inclusive and as a result ignores significant potential differences among members of the CF that will otherwise yield valuable information and contributions in terms of both equity and operational success.³⁹

Similarly to the colourblind ideology, the CAF has and continues to extensively attempt the implementation of the meritocracy ideology throughout the organization. However, many scholars who have examined merit based systems in organizations have confirmed this results in a false equality (Clarke, Hurst and Tomlison,⁴⁰ Castilla and Benard,⁴¹ and van Dijk *et al.*⁴²). Specifically, “[t]he inequalities generated from a merit-based system are deemed fair and just because all participants presumably had an equal or sufficient opportunity to succeed.”⁴³ Within the CAF, the primary indicator of success and advancement is promotion and upward progression to more senior ranks and positions. This is primarily achieved through the Performance and Competency Evaluation (PaCE) and National Selection Board process which is described as a “merit process” in the PaCE Users Guide.⁴⁴ Therefore, within the CAF, proportional representation at senior ranks could be considered a positive indicator if the merit-based system resulted in equality. However, when examining gender diversity this outcome has not been obtained and is demonstrated with the lower proportion of women in the CAF General Officer occupational group compared to the CAF overall. Only 10.1% of the Regular Force General Officers and 7.7% of the Reserve Force General Officers are women,⁴⁵ both well below the overall proportion of 15.8% and 16.8% of women in the Regular Force and Reserve Force, respectively.⁴⁶ As previously identified, similar data is not available for 2SLGBTQI+ representation in the CAF, nor can it currently be collected.

With these results and even after many years of use, the meritocracy ideology and approach has not led to the inclusion of women throughout the CAF. Davis summarizes the gender integration and reliance on meritocratic approaches within the CAF as:

The experience of gender integration in the C[A]F highlights the challenge that social change has presented, including the limited ability of the C[A]F to employ women and men who do not represent accepted and understood gender profiles to their optimum potential. This limited capacity is rooted in organisational [sic] definitions and conceptualisations [sic] of gender that in turn inform policy, practice and a culture of dichotomous gender

³⁹Davis, ‘Sex, Gender and Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces’, 450–51.

⁴⁰Clarke, Hurst, and Tomlinson, ‘Maintaining the Meritocracy Myth’.

⁴¹Castilla and Benard, ‘The Paradox of Meritocracy in Organizations’.

⁴²van Dijk et al., ‘Meritocracy a Myth?’

⁴³Humphreys, ‘Fighting the Undercurrent: Second-Generation Gender Bias in the Canadian Armed Forces’, 10.

⁴⁴Canada, *PaCE - EPC User Guide*, 21.

⁴⁵Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces, Employment Equity Plan 2021 - 2026*, 26–27.

⁴⁶Canada, 9.

difference along with organisational [sic] claims of gender neutrality.⁴⁷

Given the similarities in biases and barriers for women and 2SLGBTQI+ members it can be expected that 2SLGBTQI+ members will continue to face the same biases and barriers which women have faced with meritocracy ideology-based processes. As previously identified, similar to colourblind ideologies, merit-based ideologies do not recognize the historical disadvantages and barriers which challenge members of nondominant groups within an organization. Therefore, these challenges are not taken into consideration when assessing merit and providing opportunities, rewards and promotion. The result of this is the reinforcement of conformity with the existing dominant group and it does not promote change through the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars. For women in the CAF, Belanger has summarized this as that “. . . the bottom line is that heterosexual white males are set up for success right out of the gate, while most females are destined to always take a backseat or play a secondary supporting role.”⁴⁸

The final diversity-blind ideology of assimilation is evident within the military to the extent that is included in the media's portrayal of the military and military culture. For example, from *Forbes*:

In the military, *assimilation* [emphasis added] is an essential part of the initial training experience to allow the integration of young adults into an organization and unit that will be required to work seamlessly under combat conditions, performing difficult tasks that literally may result in death should the unit fail to work together.⁴⁹

Within the context of organizational socialization, Omanović and Langley describe assimilation as a one-way socialization process to transfer a work culture from one generation to another, including its organizational values and norms.⁵⁰ This culture is ingrained in all three organizational pillars and assimilation reinforces the culture by using all three pillars, including the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars. With the historical masculine or war fighting culture of the military, the majority of men have been more likely to adapt to or assimilate into masculine culture. However, this has been more difficult for women who do not inherently have the expected masculine traits. To advance within the CAF, and as a demonstration of the assimilation ideology, “women [in the CAF] have spoken about becoming one of the guys to fit into their units”⁵¹ including to be accepted by male colleagues and be part of the team. For 2SLGBTQI+ members, the masculine culture includes both elements of gender and sexuality that may be counter to their individual identity. Therefore, 2SLGBTQI+ members are likely to face the same difficulties, plus other difficulties related to sexuality, if they choose to assimilate into the masculine military culture. Since assimilation uses all three organizational pillars to maintain and reinforce the current culture of the organization, organizational change for

⁴⁷Davis, ‘Sex, Gender and Cultural Intelligence in the Canadian Forces’, 450.

⁴⁸Belanger, *Pride Amid Prejudice*, 54–55, Kobo.

⁴⁹Basu, ‘The Importance Of Assimilation In Your Employee Training Program’.

⁵⁰Omanović and Langley, ‘Assimilation, Integration or Inclusion?’, 58.

⁵¹Waruszynski et al., ‘Desire to Serve: Insights from Canadian Defence Studies on the Factors That Influence Women to Pursue a Military Career’, 77.

the acceptance of women and 2SLGBTQI+ members is not possible within the identity-blind assimilation ideology. Formal processes have directed inclusive approaches, verses assimilation of members,⁵² however, the outcome at the unit and individual level of these changes is not well studied.

By looking at the three identity-blind diversity ideologies identified by Leslie *et al.*, it is evident that all three have been used, and some continue to be used, within the CAF to maintain the masculine culture counter to the processes to improve gender diversity. While the identity-blind approach of assimilation is less prominent in current policies, blind and meritocracy ideologies are still present in organizational process. Consequentially, the historical disadvantages and barriers faced by women and 2SLGBTQI+ members remain unrecognized in many processes, to the detriment of these members and the overall organization. Furthermore, the diversity and cultural changes which the organization has attempted have been predominantly through the regulative pillar and have had minimal positive results of increasing diversity and acceptance of women or 2SLGBTQI+ members.

CAF Identity-Conscious approaches

Recently, the CAF has begun to recognize and implement some identity-conscious diversity policies and processes to support gender diversification within its ranks. This approach leverages both the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars. Furthermore, these recent policy changes and their implementation have taken into consideration both women and 2SLGBTQI+ members. For example, statistics showed that that 27.3% of women and 3.8% of men in the CAF had been victims of sexual assault in the workplace or involving co-workers,⁵³ compared to 13% of women and 3% of men in the general Canadian population.⁵⁴ Although, similar statistics for 2SLGBTQI+ members of the CAF are not available, Statistics Canada found “. . . 2SLGBTQ+ workers [in Canada] were two to four times more likely to be targets of harassment or sexual assault in the workplace than their cisgender and heterosexual counterparts.”⁵⁵ Acknowledging this disparity between women in the CAF compared to the general population and as recommended in the Independent External Comprehensive Review,⁵⁶ the CAF is amending the *Duty to Report*⁵⁷ requirements to include an exemption for sexual misconduct.⁵⁸ Although this

⁵²Canada, ‘CDS/DM Initiating Directive for Professional Conduct and Culture’; Canada, ‘CDS/DM Directive for CAF Reconstitution’.

⁵³Cotter, *Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces*, 2016, 15.

⁵⁴Canada, ‘The Daily — Gender Results Framework’.

⁵⁵Canada.

⁵⁶Arbour, ‘Report of the Independent External Comprehensive Review of the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces’, 162.

⁵⁷The *Duty to Report* is a legal requirement within the Queen's Regulations and Orders requiring all CAF members to report “infringement of the pertinent statutes, regulations, rules, orders and instructions governing the conduct of any person subject to the Code of Service Discipline.” This includes victims and third parties who victims inform, regardless of the safety, intent or agency of the victim. For additional information and history on the *Duty to Report*, see Arbour, ‘Report of the Independent External Comprehensive Review of the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces’, 149-162.

⁵⁸Canada, ‘Defence Minister Anand Amends Duty to Report Regulations to Provide an Exception for Restorative Engagement Program Participants’; Canada, ‘Defence Minister Bill Blair Initiates Repeal of

policy change is a change to the regulative pillar of the organizations, it is recognition that the *Duty to Report* policy “created unintended negative consequences for survivors by taking away their agency and control in the reporting process.”⁵⁹ This regulative change is both acknowledgement of the barriers faced by victims, who were predominately women and other diverse members, to report being the victim of sexual-misconduct and a shift to the use of the normative and cultural-cognitive pillar for the reporting of sexual misconduct. In addition to supporting victims, this change also creates a morally governed basis and cultural support to reporting sexual misconduct versus a legal sanction to mandate reporting.

The DND/CAF Positive Space program is another positive example of identity-conscious ideology within the CAF. Although it started as a local initiative at Canadian Forces Base Halifax in 2014, it quickly gained strategic recognition resulting in the launch of the national Positive Space Initiative in 2018. In 2022 it was announced that the initiative would become a program lead by the Chief Professional Conduct and Culture level 1 organization.⁶⁰ The intent of the initiative was to “foster the creation of a safe and inclusive work environment for everyone, regardless of their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression.”⁶¹ Later versions of the goal eliminated the “creation” portion of the goal and focused on the “foster” portion.⁶² The importance of an accepting and safe work environment can be seen in the privilege which those who conform to the expectation inherently retain. In the context of non-heterosexual individuals being open about their sexuality within the workspace Benozzo *et al.* describe this as:

[C]oming out of the closet is equivalent to entering a problematic new space. . . . [W]e assume that everybody is straight, but when that presumption proves wrong, heteronormativity then requires that those who are not straight pretend to be so (so that we can continue to presume that they are straight) or declare explicitly their deviation from the norm (in other words, they continue to come out). . . . [C]oming out confirms itself as a discourse, which supports and reinforces heterosexual privilege: heterosexuals do not need to come out.⁶³

The Positive Space initiative and program have no inherent regulative function for individual CAF members, and the new rule or requirement form them was to make Commanders responsible for ensuring training is available within their organizations.⁶⁴ This program is focused on changing behaviour and reinforcing new ideas and beliefs within the DND and the CAF for the acceptance and support of 2SLGBTQI+ members. As a result, it is a change process that is based in the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars. The outcome is a process which has resulted in individuals creating change in their organizations and that is not focused on compliance with a policy through coercion

Duty to Report Regulations’.

⁵⁹Canada, ‘Defence Minister Bill Blair Initiates Repeal of Duty to Report Regulations’.

⁶⁰Canada, ‘The Evolution of Positive Space in the Defence Team’.

⁶¹Canada, *Announcement of Defence Team Positive Space Ambassador Training*.

⁶²Canada, ‘The Evolution of Positive Space in the Defence Team’.

⁶³Benozzo et al., ‘Coming Out, But Into What?’, 303.

⁶⁴Canada, *Changes to the Positive Space Program*.

or fear of sanctions. Member's differences are identified and elevated within the program with the intent to ensure all affected members have a safe and accepting work environment. Therefore, the Positive Space program is an example of both the use of a multicultural identity-conscious diversity ideology and organizational change through the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars.

Conclusion

As the CAF continues to act towards increasing the diversity of its members, the lessons from the changes to the *Duty to Report* policies and the Positive Space program provide examples of the success when identity-conscious diversity ideologies are utilized. Both of these examples demonstrate how successful culture change is possible when differences between individuals are recognized and taken into consideration in the development and implementation of policies and policy change. Furthermore, these changes highlight how the culture of the organization can change when the change is advanced through the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars. This permits the change to permeate through all levels of the organization and be embraced by all actors within the organization. The legal sanctions of the regulative pillar will still be required when there are gross breaches to the expectations, however, it should be utilized as a reaction to these breaches and not as the means to implement the change.

The CAF's repeated use of identity-blind diversity ideologies and the regulative pillar for change within the organization have not resulted in changes to the culture of the organization, nor has it improved diversification of its members to include women. To be successful in the diversification of its members to include and accept 2SLGBTQI+ members, the CAF needs to not repeat the same ineffective approaches. Therefore, for the CAF to successfully diversify its members for the inclusion of 2SLGBTQI+ individuals, in addition to women and other designated groups, it must recognize the difference in individuals and use the identity-conscious diversity ideology of multiculturalism. Furthermore, to be successfully responding to these diversification challenges, the changes should be brought through the normative and cultural-cognitive pillars of the organization.

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